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R A D I C A L

No. I.

Maintains the multitude can never err,
And sets the people in the papal chair.

NEW-YORK :

PRINTED BY WILLIAM GRATTAN.

1821.

MR

589 Radcliff
★ 11A

THE RADICAL.

MR. PRINTER,

IN descending from the Capitol in Albany last week, I picked up the following speech. I immediately turned round to ascertain, if possible, to whom it belonged, but could not fix upon any one, who looked sufficiently like an orator. Three gentlemen directly before me might have claimed it with propriety, and indeed I am almost sure it fell from the pocket of one of them ; but as I was not certain of which of the three, you will not be surprised that I was prevented from offering it to either of them, when you are informed that one was Gen. Radix, another Mr. Radicalcliff, and,

“ A third of regal port
“ But faded splendor wan, who by his gait
“ And *calm* demeanor seemed the *Prince of H—ll.*”

As the speech appears to have been composed for the purpose of delivery on a very important subject now about to be discussed, I take this opportunity of restoring it to the right owner, whoever he may be. .

AN ELECTOR.

MR. CHAIRMAN,

Upon this subject now before the Convention, I have a remark or two to make, which, I trust, will carry conviction. Different modes of appointing the

Judiciary have been adopted in various forms of government, but all have hitherto failed in giving complete satisfaction. Some indeed have been preferable to others, and I think it will appear, in the course of my argument, that as they have approximated to the grand result to which I have arrived, they have met with more general approbation. It is a ramification of the glorious principle, that the people are omnipotent. I would have the judges depend upon popular election, or rather I would make the people the judges; to hold their offices, not during good behaviour, which is only a plausible condition to establish an aristocratical order, but to vacate their seats each Term: nay, sir, I would go farther—they should be judges only to try one cause, and then give place to others.

This ultimate result to which I have arrived by a short but close process of reasoning, I hold to be the great desideratum of jurisprudence—that great and fundamental principle, after which man in his civil capacity has been immemorially groping; occasional glimpses of which have burst on a favoured few, on whom the Deity has vouchsafed to pour the extraordinary influence of his spirit, and which I have now, in the fulness of time, and after laborious and patient research, at last evolved from the absurdities of traditional prejudice, and the lumber of barbarous forms in all its naked and sublime simplicity. This great principle has been partially adopted in other departments of the administration of justice, and it is astonishing, that the bright light, which it has shed abroad upon the doctrines of liberty, has not long since caused its universal adoption in all cases, where the rights of person and property are in any possible way to be

affected by the judgments of law on the investigations of fact. It is the foundation of that venerable institution—the trial by jury, so many ages the boast of freedom and which has so long protected under its broad and impenetrable buckler, the property, life, liberty, and fair fame, of so many generations of men. There, Sir, the native love of truth—the natural tendency of man towards perfection has broken asunder the chains of traditional prejudice. In the trials the most important to man—upon the decision of which depends his life and reputation, and the fair fame of his children, the law and the fact are submitted to the finding of the jury, to men not unfrequently taken, nay selected by an officer of the government, from the spectators, who attend in your court-houses. If in these cases, most affecting to the character of freemen, you submit the law and the fact to the finding of twelve men, selected in this aristocratical manner; why should you elevate to a post independent of the people, and defying their will, a body of men, who are fixed in irresponsibility till they are sixty years of age? And that, too, for the purpose of deciding upon the law merely.

It is too much, Sir. It is too gross a violation of the doctrine of equality—too overt an attempt at the introduction of privileged orders, and all the outrageous abuses of monarchical institutions. It is too aristocratical to suit my taste. Possibly the yet remaining darkness of mind, which more or less obscures the views of men even in this favoured country, may prevent them from keeping pace with me, in my rapid strides towards the true theory of government, but if my own ideas could be adopted to the extent of their simplicity and justice, I would go farther; and I take

this occasion of avowing my principles and laying my claim to be considered as one of the disciples of that beautiful theory, which teaches perfect and literal equality.

All men are equal in the sight of God; why should they not be so in the eyes of the Law? There is no reason why they should not. I would then provide for the true administration of justice, by directing, that an alphabetical list of the names of all the whites of 21 years of age and upwards, should be made out in each county, the first man on the list to preside, and each in his turn until the list had been fully gone through. And I would have but one court. None of your aristocratical orders of inferior and superior courts. It is too barefaced a violation of the rights of man and the laws of equality.

Thus would you give each man a fair chance to decide in his turn upon questions of law and fact. Thus would you disseminate intelligence among the people. Thus would you simplify your laws, for it cannot be supposed, that judges constituted in this way would have leisure, or inclination to be looking into the musty volumes of black letter tyranny, or consulting the aristocratical opinions of modern judicial dictators. No, Sir, you would place all on the fair footing of equality and reciprocity; for if one man should happen to do his neighbour injustice, in the opinion of that neighbour; why, Sir, that neighbour would have his equitable opportunity to retaliate, and the sacred law of an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth, would be reduced to wholesome practice. And the more fully to insure this opportunity to acquire a knowledge of the law and retaliate wrong, so as ultimately to produce right, I would have this court ambulatory—it should

go from town to town and sit every day. You would thus bring justice to each man's door, and he would only have to open it, and step forth to procure it without delay and without sale.

This system would also have the effect of increasing the respectability of each man in the eyes of his neighbour. Not by elevating one class above another, but by raising the whole platform of society, and making each man a judge or chancellor. In this way you address a motive not only to the sense of justice, but to the selfishness of men. You compel vice as well as virtue to work for the common weal. For what stronger inducement to mutual respect and kindness among men can you offer, than the consideration, that they may tomorrow sit in judgment each upon the other.

On this subject, I do not speak theoretically merely, I do not speak simply from my innate love of equality, but I refer to experience. For the benefit of those, who are not wholly emancipated from the prejudices of education, I call the records of history to bear witness to the soundness of the principle. Look, Sir, at the practice of duelling. What gave to the ages of chivalry their high-souled courtesy and gallantry ? What created and strengthened that mutual deference that stood in place of law, and regulated the customs of society ? Was it not, I ask you, Mr. Chairman, was it not that practice, which vindicated the rights of the oppressed and plundered orphan, which detected and overthrew the plots of the traitor, which exposed to the eyes of an astonished world the crimes of secret murderers, and which restored to calumniated woman her fame freed from the accusations of her enemies ?

So inevitably, Sir, did that mode of trial produce a just result, that it was in that enlightened age, em-

phatically called the Judgment of God. Have I appealed to the middle ages ? Let me go farther back. Let me refer you from the monarchies of feudal Europe to the republics of antiquity. To those celebrated tribunals of justice, under whose control the democracies of Athens and Rome attained their power and greatness. In those states new judges were elected from the body of the people for the adjudication of each cause. And where, in the records of historians, or the reports of jurists, will you find more admirable specimens of equal justice than in the annals of those democracies ? Of justice, without regard to influence, services, or character ? Was not Aristides banished for assuming the aristocratic title of just ? And here I beg leave to mention, with approbation, the simplicity of those days, when the sentence was written upon oyster shells, and the judges were compelled to apply to the criminal to record their votes. Was not Socrates condemned to death by this inflexible tribunal for claiming the invidious and aristocratic character of being the only wise man in the republic, and for arrogantly presuming to dictate to his judges the sentence they should pronounce. His long and unoffending life--his amiable character--his intrepidity in the field--and his wisdom in the rostrum, could not avert the sentence he deserved for impiously arrogating the merit (as he called it) of having brought philosophy down from heaven to dwell among men--that is, of having introduced an enemy into the bosom of the state.

What, too, was the fate of the proud patrician, Coriolanus, of the dictator, Camillus, and of the aristocratically eloquent Cicero ? Were they not banished by their inflexible judges for daring to violate the

sacred law of equality, and for raising themselves above their fellow citizens ? Such, Sir, was the justice of the Athenians. Such was the justice of the Romans. And whilst antiquity shall be respected—whilst Grecian and Roman virtue shall be admired, the lovers of the people, and the advocates of perfect equality can support and establish their arguments by an appeal to the judgments of the Forum and the Hill of Mars.

These decisions, too, unlike the decisions of our own judges, were bottomed upon the eternal principles of justice, which exist in their native vigour in the bosoms of the lower and more numerous classes of society, uncontaminated by the prejudices of education, or an unwise respect for the opinions of a few aristocrats, who have been foisted into their seats in violation of the rights of the people. Decisions like these are above and beyond all precedent. They each become a leading case developing and illustrating some new principle in morals and jurisprudence. This doctrine renders unnecessary those numerous reports, the study of which now occupies the time and stupifies the faculties of our judges and lawyers, and supersedes the necessity *et the viginti annorum lucubrations.* I beg pardon, Sir, for the aristocracy of my language.

It may be objected by the old enemies of mankind, that the system is too simple, but when viewed with an unprejudiced eye, simplicity becomes a great recommendation. Monarchy and aristocracy are supported by mystery and falsehood, but the chief aim of our party is to strip all things naked, and to expose them uncovered to the gaze of the people. It was this principle which prompted that illustrious refor-

mer, Jack Cade, when he rebelled against the tyrant of England to exclaim, "Burn all the records of the realm—my mouth shall be the parliament of England." It was this too, which prompted the no less illustrious, but more successful reformers in the parliament of Praise God Bare Bones, to propose the destruction of all books and records, and to begin the world anew. But the time would fail me to enumerate all the splendid examples of individual independence, civil courage, and warlike achievement which the inborn, vigorous, and eternal feeling of equality has furnished, or the national prosperity, power, and renown, which have owed their existence to the general adoption and influence of this august principle. I will therefore conclude my observations, by calling on you, Mr. Chairman, on this venerable assembly, and on the population of this great state to hold fast to this principle of equality, and carry it out fully and fearlessly into every department of the government we are now framing.

Yield not, I beseech you, to any timorous apprehensions for the welfare of the people, if permitted to act directly in the management of their own concerns : such apprehensions are unworthy them, and they are unworthy you. Let not the abominable sentiment, that "the people are their own worst enemies" deface the noble instrument we are preparing for their adoption, or tarnish the future annals of our legislation and jurisprudence. The haughty genius of aristocracy, and all the hoary absurdities which accompany it, and which have owed their protection to the strong arm of power, are fast sinking into the tomb of the Capulets—there let them sleep the sleep of death, and rest in everlasting oblivion. The people their own

THE
R A D I C A L.

No. II.



Great on the bench, great in the saddle,
That can as well bind o'er as swaddle;
Mighty he was at both of these,
And styled of War as well as Peace,
So some rats of amphibious nature,
Are either for the land or water.

Hudibras.

—
NEW-YORK:

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR.

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1821.

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O LENOX.

THE RADICAL.

To GENERAL ERASTUS ROOT.

My Dear General,

I am obliged in the beginning of my correspondence with you, to solicit your pardon for prefixing an aristocratic military title to your name. But I was induced, by several reasons, for once to transgress those laws of equality, so congenial to our feelings.

First—The title of General pre-supposes military services, and who that has listened to your warlike speeches, can doubt, for a moment, your right to your rank and title? It is now indeed a time of peace; but, if I am rightly informed, you are as much the soldier in peace as in war. Nay, it has been rumoured that your courage suffers no diminution by the absence of your enemy, but like a perennial spring, is full even to overflowing, when it cannot be used.

Secondly—In connexion with your name, it recalls all those military associations, so delightful to the warrior's bosom—General Root! Who can hear it without feeling his heart leap within him, as at the sound of a trumpet? It speaks of hard fought fields and battles won—of towns besieged and castles stormed. It sweeps across my ears like the swelling notes of a martial flourish, and reminds me

“Of cutting foreign throats,
“Of breaches, ambuscadoes, Spanish blades,”

and such is the martial cast of your character, that I but finish the quotation,

“Of healths five fathom deep.”

Thirdly—And as I intend this reason solely for you, I trust that none of my readers will be so officious and

impertinent, as to peruse this letter, which I consider strictly confidential from the beginning of the next sentence, unto the word "Fourthly" below. Having placed this guard, as it were, upon our council, to prevent any spy from telling the people what in truth it is not necessary they should know; I now proceed to inform you, that I address you by your title, because those distinctions are not, in fact, so hateful to us, as we would fain induce the world to believe. There is something in a title, whether it be Mr. President, Mr. Governor, General, or Corporal, that wonderfully tickles the ears of men, democrats as well as aristocrats. Why it should so please them has ever been a mystery to me. Whether it operates upon them mechanically, like the exhilarating gas, stirring up their imaginations, and exciting their pleasurable ideas; or that, like a mental cathartic, it relaxes the natural costiveness of their tempers, I cannot say, yet so it is, that no panacea ever had more infallible or wonderful effects. Some it causes to strut and look big, like a prize ox at a fair, or an alderman in a procession. Others it enrages, and stripping off the mask of modesty, under which they have concealed their natural disposition, transforms them into perfect Hectors, techy, waspish men of authority. Upon these office acts like nettles upon a bull, so that when under its immediate influence, too near an approach is absolutely dangerous. These are the men who, "like angry apes,"

"Play such fantastic tricks before high heaven,"

as if the saints and angels were all looking down with astonishment to see Judge Sw—t—n wielding the sword of justice "with huge two handed sway;" or as if the hierarchs and chiefs of the ethereal powers militant, were standing round in expectant curiosity, while one of your officers is manœuvering his battalion of country militia.

Such men, like our own game cocks, strut at the head of their train, their spurs sticking out, their rosy gills swelling with pride; but why go on with the

description? I know, from your own inimitable gait and manner among the hen-hearted members of the Convention, that you have frequently and attentively observed this interesting spectacle.

Such, my dear General, is often the magic effect of rank, upon those humble lovers of equality, those disinterested followers of the people, those patriotic advocates of that principle, which, in your own happy inventive manner, you have denominated "mild, meek, unassuming democracy."

In others again it produces a directly opposite effect. It makes them kind, condescending, the complete servants of the people. From plain farmers' boys, they become perfect courtiers, practised in bows, ready in promises, profuse in compliments, wholly disproving the old proverb, that "you cannot make a silk purse out of a sow's ear." These latter are very desirous to convince the multitude that these titles and distinctions are unpleasant to their unsophisticated ears, but notwithstanding their well meant efforts, ill-natured observers affect to discover, under their affected coyness and reluctance, as much real, though suppressed pleasure, as in the variable countenance, and palpitating bosom, of a young maiden on the morning of her wedding day. These, however, are high matters, and will be discussed more at large in "The Lives and Adventures of a Farmer's Son and Matty his man," which will probably be given to the public in the course of the ensuing winter.

Fourthly—I prefix your title, because it is perfectly consistent with that political equality, it is our glory to advocate. What would be our equality, if the adventitious distinctions of society did not often elevate those, whom the aristocratic laws of justice tend to degrade? Alas, I tremble, lest in the depravity of his ignorance, man should neglect and subvert that sublime principle, and substitute the tyrannical maxim, of reward according to desert in its stead—a rule pregnant with the most pernicious consequences to yourself, to our party, and to mankind. The most zealous follower of the people, the most efficacious adherent of our party, might be thus subjected to the severity of jus-

tice, and condemned to useless inactivity. Let us suppose a man who has laboured in the cause of the people from his youth upward—that he has always professed his love for them, and that his chief aim has been to raise the lower orders of society to high stations, and to introduce perfect equality among men. That to further these praiseworthy ends, he has invariably advocated, without shrinking, every proposition to arm the oppressed poor with power, or to subdue and degrade the tyrannical rich. Let us suppose him always to have scouted every thing, savoring of peace and humanity ; to have been a strenuous supporter of the war against the enemies of his country, except in the field, and that with admirable consistency he has withheld his support from any measure tending to perpetuate the aristocratic, literary, religious, and political establishments of society. Let us suppose him, in the enthusiasm of his youth, to have joined a patriotic leveller, though now “a misguided wanderer” in a holy crusade against the government of his country ; that failing in his attempt to excite the people to rebellion, to accustom them to the presence of great men, he has become one among them, and adopted their manners and habits—that in this course of philanthropy, he has exposed himself to diseases and hardships, and catching a tincture from his familiar companions, has become loud, boisterous, and vulgar, a drunkard violent in his passions, filthy in his habits, shameless in his manners, and coarse in his morals. It is evident that this man, identified as he is with the lowest orders of society, will not be respected and considered equal (while these unjust distinctions continue) with the intelligent, humane, and moral. But shall it be tolerated, when these vices were contracted in prosecuting the glorious cause of equality, that they shall prevent his further usefulness, and render him an outcast from society ? When, like Howard, he has found his happiness, not in the luxuries to which his rank entitled him ; not in the elegant, but unsubstantial pleasures of the wealthy ; but in the coarse and humble gratifications of the vulgar ; when he has voluntarily abandoned the palaces and company of the

great, and taken his associates from among the poor and ignorant ; when he has diligently sought to make himself acquainted with the habits and vices of all those unfortunates who have become miserable, either by the accident of their birth or the depravity of their nature—Is he, I ask, because in this “voyage of discovery, this circumnavigation” of equality, he has contracted the diseases of the various climes he has passed through, to undergo an eternal quarantine upon his return ? Whatever may be the common sentiment upon this subject, I know, my dear General, that your mind, enlightened by experience, and accustomed to similar questions of casuistry, will respond in the negative. The institutions of society must correct the evils they cause. And if a reformer of this exalted and elevated character, should appear in this republic, he must and shall be dignified with a title ; thus compensating him for his voluntary degradation by an artificial distinction.

Titles in this manner, may and do conduce towards perfect equality. Men, who otherwise would be regarded as beneath their species, are thus elevated to high stations, and compel their fellows to pay them a sort of respect. To men of this description, it is not only politic, but conformable to our rules of perfect equality to give their titles at all times and on all occasions. It is drawing them up, as it were, to the level of humanity. To these reforming prophets, titles and dignities are the old cast clouts and rotten rags, with which they are raised from their filthy miry dungeons.

For these reasons, my dear General, I have scrupulously introduced your title at every opportunity, and shall be particular in always prefixing it to your name. I am not unmindful of the respect it bespeaks for you. With one so much interested in your estimation with the public as I am, this is no trivial motive. My fate and that of our party are bound up with yours. You are the Althean brand, on whose preservation from combustion depends our very existence ; you stand forward, conspicuously in advance, the Abdiel of our host. You are, in truth, the very Leviathan, the Sea

Serpent of democracy. When you uprear your vasty bulk, the other monsters of the deep retire in dismay. Even Briggs, a creature of no ordinary growth, confesses your supremacy, and joins in the attending shoal of fish, who seeking to imitate your gambols,

“ Wallowing unwieldly, enormous in their gait
“ Tempest the Ocean.”

In whatever situation you are placed, you are invested with an air of power, which completely disarms your antagonists. Even in your slumbers,

“ On the deep,
“ Stretch'd like a promontory,”

you give convincing proofs of your fearful strength ; but when in animated debate, you spout out the bitter brine of your sarcasm, and striking on all sides with your tail, propel yourself forward, overturning your enemies in your course ; you make “ the sea to look hoary,” and threaten to break up the fountain of the great deep to overwhelm us.

In a character of such grandeur, slight blemishes are overlooked. Nay, such is your peculiar fortune, that what in other men would be vices, in you assume the shape and demeanour of virtues. There is a protecting genius about you, who, for your sake, reverses the laws of nature, and makes that respectable in you, which in other men would be degrading. Vice and virtue are but relative terms, and like cameleons, take their colours from the surrounding atmosphere. Even your intemperance does not misbecome you. It supplies something that was wanting, and completes the symmetry of your character. Happy man ! All things work together for your good. Those floods of liquor, which would besot the faculties of other men, only excite yours. They fertilize and enrich the soil, which brings forth those frequent garlands, those budding flowers of your evergreen eloquence. They make it amid the deserted, barren intellects around it, an **Arabia Felix**, a perfect **Oesis**. Under its aromatic shades, the hunted, persecuted **Genius of Jacobinism**

may yet find a protecting shelter. In that congenial clime, it may yet refresh its drooping spirits, and restored to its wonted vigour, again issue forth to war upon the aristocratic establishments and inequalities of society. I do not despair, because our sacred cause has now but few adherents. It is the nature of man to desert virtue in adversity, but the wheel of fortune is constantly in motion. "Dame Mutability" will yet assert her empire, and hope still flatters me with the return of those glorious days, when in regenerated France, society was resolved into its original elements ; and Priests and Princes, Lords and Nobles, Jurists and Judges, were taught how insignificant and worthless in the eyes of truth were their titles to their immunities and privileges.

The suggestions of fancy in this instance are strengthened and confirmed by the conclusions of reason. There is something inexpressively attractive and congenial to the human bosom, in the main principle of our party—the corner-stone of Jacobinism—that each man shall legislate for himself, that he shall be Judge in his own cause, and execute his own judgments. In these three simple maxims are contained all the pith and marrow of our political creed. They are in politics, what the three points of Calvinism are in religion. They are the Alpha and the Omega of our alphabet ; the figures of our state arithmetic ; the musical note of our political gamut, from whose position and composition arise such heavenly concord and harmony.

It was the principle contained in these three maxims, that was so earnestly sought after by those illustrious men, who projected and executed the French Revolution—a revolution compared with which our own dwindles to nothing. In truth, the name of revolution has, in my opinion, always been improperly applied to that convulsion which caused the separation of these colonies from England. Our ancestors abolished nothing, they created nothing, they changed nothing. Regulations were indeed made to remedy those inconveniences which might have resulted from our alienation from the mother country ; but the same princi-

ples of legislation were adopted, and, as far as possible, the same forms were preserved. The same courts were established, and similar offices to execute the judgments of those courts. Instead of written charters, we had written constitutions; instead of royal governors and judges, we had republican governors and judges. The assemblies were elected by the people as before, and if we had not been relieved from some vexatious oppressions, we should not have felt, that we had a revolution. No innovations were made upon the principles of government, of legislation, or of jurisprudence. Our ideas of religion, of morals, and of freedom, were the same before as after the war. Why then it should be called a revolution it has always puzzled me to say.

It was, in fact, nothing more nor less than a violent separation of the two countries. Our ancestors had enough to do without effecting a revolution. But now our minds are unoccupied, like blank paper, they are fit to receive any impressions. The nation is at peace with the world. The people contented, and without cause of rebellion. Can there be a better time to make innovations, and to try experiments. If we fail, we can go back to our starting place and begin again. If we succeed, we can proceed in reformation, and so on, *ad infinitum*. All this too without any impertinent interference on the part of other nations, to disturb the progress of the interesting experiment. The legitimates of Europe have had enough of one Treaty of Pilnitz. They will be careful not to enter into new coalitions, or to dictate again to any experimental democracies.

You perceive, my dear General, that I have, throughout this letter, used the word democracy according to our accepted meaning of it, *i. e.* not a representative democracy or a republic; but an unbalanced democracy, in which the people transact their business in person. The silly arguments that we often hear, bottomed upon the inconveniences of this mode of government, can have no weight with us. Absurd and preposterous reasoning! As if any inconveniences were to be put in competition with the imprescriptible rights of man.

This representative system is a plot, a contrivance by intriguing statesmen to deceive and cheat the people out of their rights. They think because they elect their magistrates, that they are free. Poor deluded wretches! How are they more free than if they elect them for life? The same authority is given to them, and the only difference is, that the people are more frequently put to the trouble of delegating that power, which, though their own, they never can exercise. What is the use of the power and majesty of the people, if the moment they manifest themselves, they are to be proscribed and annihilated by the reading of the riot act? If I am to be governed by a despotism of laws, I care not if the judges are appointed by an arbitrary monarch or an arbitrary legislature. What does it matter when I am condemned to the scaffold, whether I march to the tune of "God save the King" or "the President's March?" In either case I am punished by laws to which I never subjected myself, and the tyrannical regulations of society are placed in opposition to the natural desires and rights of man. Where then is the power and sovereignty of the people? Why is it not mighty to pardon? Because, in truth, the people are deceived, when they are told, that they possess the supreme authority. Like the Priest-guided Israelites, they perish of want in sight of the promised land. They are governed in a republic as much as in a monarchy.

The armorial bearings of the two governments are somewhat different. The field of one is charged with the royal lion rampant; and that of the other with a swarm of pismires combatant; but the supporters to both are the same. The states prison and the gallows are equally prominent in both, and give a gloomy aristocratic cast to the whole shield.

Let us no longer tolerate this deception. If we are sovereign, let us feel and exercise our royal authority. Let us throw off this state mask, this political mystery, and restore to government its primeval simplicity. Let us abolish these corporate bodies, these artificial institutions and contrivances to fetter the power and thwart the will of the people. Let us assert the rights

of man, and vindicate the glorious privilege of self-government. Reason was given to us to regulate our conduct, and only to reason should we submit. For your efforts in the cause of Jacobinism, you deserve the thanks of mankind. From me you shall receive my individual share of gratitude to the full. My sense of justice will not permit me to suppress one iota of your well-earned praise, and *until* time shall have crowned your exertions with complete success, (for then I shall neither have courage nor opportunity to address you,) my pen shall often contribute to increase the sinking fund of your fame.

You have deserved, and will continue to deserve, all that I have said or can say of you. You have omitted no labour, you have shrunk from no fatigue or danger in your endeavours to change our republic into a Polygarchy. Be not startled, I pray you, at the aristocratic appearance of this word. It contains no treasonable, no cabalistic meaning. It is a convenient word to express a community where each man governs himself, *i. e.* obeys the dictates of his own reason, and regulates his conduct according to those principles of action which were given him at his birth. Your generous attempts to establish this form of polity have not been unnoticed, and shall not sink into unmerited oblivion.

But I must postpone the further expression of my sentiments of gratitude to another opportunity. It is not recorded that the gods listened to the reasonable prayer of the two lovers to annihilate time and space, and I do not think my ardent affection for you will justify me in writing after my paper is full. At another time you shall again hear from the

RADICAL.

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